

The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY,

We are verily guilty concerning our brother *** therefore, is this distress come upon us.

[EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.]

VOLUME 1.

NEW RICHMOND, OHIO, FRIDAY, JANUARY 29, 1836.

NUMBER 5.

THE PHILANTHROPIST
IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT
NEW RICHMOND, CLERMONT CO., OHIO.

Terms.

Two Dollars per annum, always payable in advance.

All Letters and Communications must be post-paid—and should be directed to the Editor of the Philanthropist. Names of the Counties particularly should be mentioned in directing where papers are to be sent.

An Advertisement making one square or a space of equal length and breadth, will be inserted three times for One Dollar.

Slave-Holder's Department.

From the Lexington (Ky.) Intelligencer.

"WHEN GREEK MEETS GREEK, THEN COMES THE TUG OF WAR."—Lee.

To the Hon. GEORGE McDUFFIE, Governor of South Carolina.

HONORED SIR:—I read with pleasure, the extract from your Message to the legislature of South Carolina. An address is seldom penned in a strain unacceptable to those who are to receive it. Hence, I judge, that your State in general, coincides with your sentiments. And I believe you will find no difficulty in obtaining the passage of laws, such as you suggest, in the sister States, only observing that you must not expect them to deliver up their citizens, to be tried in your State, for an offence committed in their own: a grievance not among the least of those which we pointed out as reasons for declaring independence. Nor must you imagine that while we prohibit incendiary publications, we mean to check the right of enquiry on any subject, political or religious. If we did, I know not but these hasty, though well-meant lines, might bring me into trouble. The disclaimer you request is superfluous. No fact is better established, than the right of each State to direct its own domestic concerns; but if you wish to make assurance doubly sure, and to fortify demonstration by testimony, your sister States will oblige you by complying with your desire.

I venture to offer some observations on your message, prefacing particulars with the general remark, that I feel pained at your exordium, filled as it is with language so vehement, to say the least of it, that I am persuaded you yourself will feel somewhat uneasy, in reviewing such a collection of epithets, so closely packed together: "intensely, indignantly, and justly,"—"wanton, officious, and incendiary,"—"wicked monsters,"—"deluded fanatics,"—"hypocritical benevolence,"—"fiend-like errand,"—"fanatical enthusiasm,"—"voluntary madness,"—"religious impostures,"—"multiplying villainies,"—"diabolical ends,"—"infernal altars,"—"unholy creed,"—"felon renegado," &c. All these would have come in better in your peroration; still better would have been left for the reader to infer from your lucid statement of facts. Your school-friend Horace, might have taught you to begin gently, and to reserve your vehemence for your closing periods:—otherwise:—

Parantium montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.
The mountain bellow, and the mouse is born.

The penalty of death for incendiary writings is severe. I doubt whether the madness of Whig and Tory times went so far. Add to this, that the difficulty of distinguishing "incendiary," from "argumentative," may one day involve some of our best citizens in the charge; nay, strange as it may seem, even your neck may be drawn into a noose of your own making, by that impetuosity which distinguishes you, both in speech and writing. We shall go so far as to impose fines, perhaps imprisonment, but as we are not, as yet, in so much danger as yourselves, we cannot, as yet, feel equal terror. Three fourths of our population are white: about three sevenths of yours are so. In 1790 you counted 140,178 whites, to 108,895 blacks. In 1830, do. do. 257,858 do. do. to 323,580 do. At a like proportional increase, the blacks in 1860, will nearly double the whites. At that time I know not what will become of those, who, with you, already feel themselves seated on a "mighty magazine of combustible matter, the explosion of which would lay the State in atoms." They will have recourse to measures stronger than those proposed by you. They will deport, the free colored people, or reduce them to slavery; so then, as Tacitus expressed it, "*velut e conspectu libertas tollatur*," that the right of freedom may not instigate rebellion. Perhaps they may forbid the use of the word liberty in public, and the leading orators, deprived of their one string, may cease fiddling for the excitement of the vulgar. Perhaps a Venetian government, with a Council of Ten, may control the State, and suffer every kind of discussion—except political. There is no knowing what necessity may compel—those who have not felt it will not accept existence upon such terms. Would it not be as well to endeavor to lessen your combustible matter: or, at least, to prevent its increase? But neither is possible under your present impressions.

For the institution of domestic slavery, you are responsible to God alone; and his law of retribution, inscribed, as well on the page of history, as on the tablet of the human heart, will inform you, that sloth must yield to industry, and the dominion of the few to the ultimately, irresistible power of the many. Tyre perished in one night by her slaves. The Athenians were ruined by their desertion—Sparta saw her princes excluded from her walls, and from their wives, by their slaves—Rome saw her proudest citizens glad to court the Emperor's freedmen. Had the Indians been personally industrious, we should never have seen the Blue Ridge. They abhorred labor, and threw it upon their women. We abhor labor, and have thrown it upon our negroes. Let us look back towards the sea board, and see who they are, who are now advancing in numbers behind us.

In vain will man strive against nature, in vain will those who govern, strive to maintain authority by severe laws. The Romans guarded the master's life by blending it with those of his whole family—and four hundred men, women and infants, have, in one day, suffered for a single murder. They amalgamated with facility, their slaves being of their own color. Yet, all this could not save them. The moment an enemy appeared before Rome, he found auxiliaries in the slaves. Dyles may confine the river, but the bed of the river rises with them, till the insupportable weight of water bears all down before it. You hold the wolf by the ears, and every hour his strength increases; get clear of him if you can at the expense of your fingers. Perhaps you may, with some Virginians, comfort yourselves with the prospect of our becoming one day, as hard pressed as you are. Such a day will come; mean time, we must rest contented with the hope of being the last devoured.

You defend slavery by the example of the Patriarchs; but Abraham was not a slaveholder; he was the same as an Arabian Sheik. He armed three hundred and eighteen trained servants, born in his own house—his horde, or clan, might consist of as many subjects as General Hampton counted slaves, but his authority was of a different nature. General Jackson at Orleans, called the freemen of color to arms, but did not think proper to summon the slaves. At Norfolk, in Virginia, the masters drove their slaves from the coast, to prevent their desertion. This worse than worthless population was replaced by mountaineers, fifteen hundred of whom perished under the unequal climate. Cornwallis marched through the Carolinas, Burgoyne stopped in New England. Such is the difference between the population raised by wealthy planters, and that produced by laborious farmers. When I see you propose, in default of children, to make your principal slave your heir; when I see you send him to a distant country, to fetch home a wife for your eldest son, I will then believe that the servitude of the east and the slavery of the west, are one and the same thing. When I see you take in marriage, a pair of sisters, and each of your obliging partners presenting you with a hand-maid, I shall think you more in earnest in proposing the Patriarchal example, than I now believe you are. When I hear of your inviting the wearied travellers; of your running to the herd, to select a calf for their entertainment, and of your standing by, in attendance while they partake, I shall be strongly inclined to take a journey, to view the manners of Arabia revived in South Carolina, and share the hospitality of Sheik McDuffie.

Freedom, is indeed, an endowment of God—conferred, as you observe, on those who are fit for it. It runs not in the blood. Witness Spain, Greece and Italy. The institutions amidst which we are brought up, enable us to receive it. The Spanish colonies set up for themselves, and poor work they have made of it. We undertook the same trade long before, and succeeded for we were well brought up. Your negroes have served a long apprenticeship, and when you see how well they manage their little republic on the coast of Guinea, you may judge whether they may conduct public business on a larger scale—which indeed requires no great share of wisdom, if we may credit an eminent European first Minister; or if we credit your own judgment, that, "the affairs of the United States are in the hands of a man incapable of pursuing the easiest chain of legal reasoning." We, who see these people keep shops and support themselves, in a situation where many white men have failed, are inclined to think them not utterly unqualified, not only for rational freedom, but for self-government of themselves. The Spartans were a military nation. They brutalized the Helots, a nation, originally, at least their equals, and thus kept them under, till Epaminondas appeared. Forty years hence, there will need no Epaminondas, with sixty thousand men, to set in flames your combustible matter. Twenty thousand under a common commander, will be sufficient. As yet, you are not ripe for such an attack. The nations of Europe know this, hence I am not uneasy at present, on this account, notwithstanding the dull and imperfect rumors of a French war. But it will behove you to provide in time for future danger, to keep high the spirit and discipline of your freemen, and since you have forbidden reading to your negroes, to convince them by real instruction, how greatly their condition has been improved by their subjection to an enlightened and christian people. Inculcate upon them, by your example, as well as present, the christian virtues of patience, forbearance and forgiveness of injuries. Thus you may break, if not prevent, the fall which, while I anticipate, I deplore as earnestly as yourself. At the same time, forbear your public and fiery harangues upon liberty. Keep that subject for your firesides, and your secret councils. Your negroes have ears, and however you may despise them, sense enough to comprehend your speeches. To hold forth upon liberty in their presence, though not as criminal, is as mischievous as to disperse incendiary pamphlets. The thoughtless boy who loses a sib into a powder magazine, though not as culpable as the wretch who attempts to fire it, may do a deed equally ruinous. Though, like yourself, friend to nullification, I shall not oppose your opinion of the superior condition of the American slave to the African negro. I believe, that I could maintain the superiority of the emancipated slave in Liberia, to that of his comrades in America. Self-government, is not as difficult a task, when it is forced upon us, as we are apt to think. The child in a town is a very different creature from him on the frontier. Many an honest shopkeeper in the East Indies, fifty years ago, became an excellent politician. Without meaning to compliment ourselves, we may observe, that our fathers, who laid the foundation of our independence, were mostly untaught by any thing besides their situation, which forced them upon duties, which they discharged well, though many of them would have flinched from the offices they filled, could they have done so. Men of the same character, at this day, exist in Hayti. If these people are destined, by providence, to occupy dependence; if they have all the qualities that fit them for slaves, and not one of those that would fit them for freemen; suppose, my dear sir, that you head a delegation to Hayti, where you may convince those semi-outangs, that their emancipation is a positive curse, depriving them of a guardianship, essential to their happiness, and which you are willing to undertake. I fear they would so far forget the dignity of a white man as to laugh in your face, and that, when they recovered a serious tone, they would inform you that they possessed, at any rate, two qualities that fitted them for freedom; sense enough to know its value, and courage to maintain it.

Such an errand, however, would be well worthy of your wide-stretching humanity—a humanity reaching from Carolina to Liberia, and to Europe. In the first, you contemplate at leisure the happiness of your negroes, who are so happy, that their masters envy their situation—though I never heard that any of them tried to exchange the one for the other; so well fed, that an English operative does not eat half the same quantity;—although said negro's meal is measured out to them;—so free from care, that no creature can be more so, except the hog;—of such exuberant spirits that they dance and sing more than any other people, except the Greeks, under the Turkish cudgel; or a Frenchman under the old regime. Turning from thence to Liberia, you see the miserable colonists exterminating the miserable natives, or exterminated by them, although, in a settlement of a dozen years, not twice that number of colonists have lost their lives in defending them. In Europe you contemplate, with deep sympathy, the sufferings of the cotton-spinners, arising from the dismissal of two millions of negroes—although not one million are employed in that cultivation, and even those that dismissed, would be compelled to work for their bread, by those laws, which their masters would both make and enforce. Whatever may be your opinion of your philanthropy, I will not follow your example in branding it as a "mischievous, misguided spirit of sickly sentimentalism," language used by you, in mentioning the judgment of those statesmen, who, with Washington and Jefferson, considered our system of domestic slavery, as a curse to our white population. I will agree that it is a delightful state of society, and that the increasing number of the slaves, beyond that of the whites, proves the happiness of the former superior to that of the latter. Only suffer me to observe, that the increase of these people, must in another generation, advance beyond their supply of food—the irrational negro will then cease to be a tame beast—he will become wild—and his keeper will be the first victim of his ferocity.

You please me by mentioning amalgamation in terms of horror; yet, when I observe its prevalence in the best southern families, I feel uneasy; still more, when I reflect that the victory of the blacks in Hayti was obtained by the spirit and information of the mulattoes. However little you may like to part with your negroes, you cannot be too soon rid of this half breed; a measure which will equally benefit South Carolina and Liberia. I do not know whether

you can bear a retrospective law, but there could be no offence in your deporting every woman whose offspring hereafter marks her guilty of amalgamation. Her paramour ought to accompany her; but, as this would be a difficult point to prove, you will content yourselves by punishing the woman's owner with the loss of his property; forfeited perhaps, by his guilt, certainly by his negligence. You cannot be too early in proposing such a law. Already the color is diffused widely, and if report says true, there is a possibility that a gingerbread or nankin lady, may one day give as much trouble at Washington, as was occasioned by a white lady there, a few years since—and which our venerable President found so hard to appease, that we may say of the hero, that he was every where irresistible, excepting in the Senate, and among the ladies.

Some years ago I received a letter from an eminent South Carolinian, who, long before incendiary writings disturbed us, viewed, like yourself, his native State placed on a mighty magazine of combustibles, the explosion of which would lay it in atoms. This gentleman closed his letter with words to this effect. "O God, what will become of us! what shall we do? But something must be done." Would it be amiss for you, after providing for the suppression of incendiaries, to look your danger in the face, by ordering an accurate census—particularly of the unmarried whites, a class which increases with the arts and elegancies of life, and of which you will find none among the negroes, a circumstance alone sufficient to account for their comparative increase. To know the extent of an evil, is much towards its remedy—the administering of which we leave to yourselves, with fervent prayers for your success.

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Not a hand moved in defence of Venice. So too, the Roman nobles, after buying out the plebeians, and replishing their farms with slaves, found themselves led alone, without defenders. They had annihilated the people. They could no longer effect what was easy to their grandires, who, with a stamp of the foot, could bid their legions rise.

I excuse your laudable partiality to your native country, when you assert that the great whig principles of liberty, had their origin in the slaveholding States. The British Parliament thought not so. They punished Massachusetts, by closing the port of Boston, which they considered the focus of sedition, but do not seem even to have thought of Car-

the course proper to be pursued in such a contingency: and to inform those whom you represent, either to prepare for the occasion as becomes men determined to peril all in defence of their known rights, or to hold their possessions at the mere courtesy of others, who are unacquainted with their situation and indifferent to their interests. Feeling with the other citizens of this Commonwealth, and honored by the responsible situation conferred upon me, I must be excused for calling your attention to this great subject, in a manner more impressive than I should think myself at liberty to adopt under ordinary circumstances.

In regard to the first question, no one can doubt that under the wise provisions of the public law, intended as this is, to perpetuate the peace and harmony of all States, whenever an association exists within the territory of any State, the object of which association is to disturb the repose of another, the State whose tranquility is jeopardized by such means may rightfully demand of the other, the prompt suppression of all such associations. Such demands, when sustained by proper proofs, are never refused by any State which wishes to remain a member of the family of civilized communities, or desires to maintain amicable relations with the State making and sustaining the demand. There is no exception to this rule. To doubt it now would be to replunge the civilized world into that barbarism from which it has emerged, and to justify every nation in the impudent attempt to regulate the affairs of others, by its own notions; which, although sometimes concealed beneath the guise of pretended philanthropy, may always be traced to considerations much less pure. Hence the universal doctrine and practice of modern States, is never to obtrude even their advice upon us, but to let us live happily. But this wish is idle in a human creature.

Man? and forever? Our institutions must share the fate of every thing on earth. My prayer, ardent as your own, is that my forebodings may prove to be the effect of dotage. Whether freedom I may have used with your opinions, I am happy to assure you that you stand high in mine, as an honest man and a zealous friend to our common country. As such accept the deep respect of him who honors himself in the signature of these own.

Your friend and well-wisher,
AN AGED SLAVEHOLDER.

EXTRACTS FROM GOVERNOR TAZEWELL'S MESSAGE.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate,
and House of Delegates:—

Since the last adjournment of the General Assembly, inatters of so much interest to this Commonwealth have occurred, that when they first attracted my attention, I doubted whether my duty did not require of me to exert the authority given by the constitution, and to convene you at a much earlier period than that to which you have been adjourned. But after a most careful examination of all our laws applicable to the then existing state of things, I found the powers with which the ordinary functions of the Commonwealth were thereby endowed, amply sufficient to prevent or punish any threatened disturbance of the public peace, that might occur within our limits, and that even your powers would suffice to repress such designs when conceived or attempted beyond our confines. To effect an object so desirable, the co-operation of other governments was requisite. Such co-operation could neither be asked nor expected, however, until the several legislatures of these governments should assemble; and as this would not happen until after the time of your regular meeting, I thought it better to take no notice of what was then going on, than to add to the prevailing excitement by any official act of mine; or to expose you to the great inconvenience which would probably be occasioned by a sudden and unexpected call of the general assembly, especially at such a season.

That many of the citizens of the northern and eastern States, aided by a few foreigners sojourning within their own limits, have devised a system, in which they still persevere, to produce a direct interference with the slave property of the southern and south-western States, is now a matter of such notoriety as to need no reference to any particular evidence to establish its truth. To effect this purpose, they have organized numerous societies, have subscribed large sums of money, and have established presses to print and disseminate the disorganizing, seditious and incendiary doctrines of the members of these associations. All this has been done and is still doing, for the undisguised purpose of effecting the immediate emancipation of our slaves. The authors of such schemes abide without our limits, and are so beyond the reach of our municipal laws. They are thus enabled with impunity, to scatter amongst us, materials obviously designed, and well calculated to lead to insurrection, rapine and murder. The post-offices under the direction and control of the Federal Government, furnish a ready mode of transmitting and spreading their mischievous productions.

These fanatics do not stop here. They assert a right in the Congress of the United States, to interfere with our property in various other modes. They contend, that Congress is endowed by the Federal Constitution, with plenary authority to emancipate every slave in the District of Columbia—that it may inhibit the transportation of slaves, as such, from one State to another—that it may emancipate all slaves within the Territories of the United States, and interdict the future introduction of any into the same, as a precedent condition to the admission of such Territories into the Union, as component members of the United States—and they boldly announce their purpose of exhibiting these several propositions before the Congress now about to convene, and to claim their decision of the same.

Under this aspect of affairs, two questions demand your consideration, the prompt decision of which is required, not less by the rights of the States, than by the security and interests of those whom represent. The first of these questions refers to the condition of things now existing, and expects of you to determine whether such a state shall longer be borne. The second regards the proposed change in our present relations, which relations have so long brought happiness and tranquility to all. This demands of you to decide upon the course most proper to be pursued in the emergency of the threatened change.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

NEW RICHMOND, OHIO, JAN. 29, 1836.

To CORRESPONDENTS.—We can give no assurance of publishing any communication reflecting, whether truly or otherwise, on the conduct of our fellow-citizens individually or collectively, without being entrusted with the name of the writer.

"Caro"—would have been published this week, had it not been for an accidental circumstance, arising from the remote location of our press from our place of residence.

PUBLIC MEETING.—A meeting of the citizens of Cincinnati, opposed to the course now pursued by those individuals composing Abolition and Anti-Slavery Societies, is respectfully requested on this evening, at 7 o'clock, at the Court-house, in this city.

Joseph Pierce,
R. Buchanan,
Wm. Tift,
David Loring,
Wm. Greene,
Jacob Strader,
W. R. Thomas,
N. G. Pendleton,
M. T. Williams,
E. Hulse,
Ed. Woodruff,
Griffith Yeatman,
J. Burnet,
A. Irwin,
O. M. Spencer,
S. C. Ogden,
Jas. Reynolds,
Geo. W. Neff,
G. V. H. De Witt,
Levi James,
Peter Benson,
Charles Hale,
John P. Garniss,
C. S. Ramsay,
Daniel C. Caswell,
Nathan Sharp,
A. McAlpin,
Elam P. Langdon,
David Griffin,
Jan. 22d, 1836.—*Cin. Gaz.*

In pursuance of the above call, some 500 or 600 of the citizens assembled in the court room by 7 o'clock in the evening. The Mayor of the city was nominated to preside—assisted by three Vice Presidents, Judge Burke, (Post-master) Judge Burnet, and Judge Torrence. The latter not being present, the Rev. O. M. Spencer was nominated in his stead. Mr. Spencer, either not being present, or silently declining the proposed honor,—the seat of the 3d Vice President was filled by Morgan Neville, Esq.—Three Secretaries were appointed—Messrs. Robert Buchanan, Archibald Irwin, and Allison Owen.

A motion was made—by Mr. Lytle, we believe,—for the appointment of a committee of fifteen, to prepare resolutions to be submitted to the consideration of the meeting. Accordingly the committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Robert T. Lytle, John C. Wright, N. Longworth, Nathaniel Wright, Joseph Pierce, Samuel R. Miller, William Tift, William Greene, N. G. Pendleton, G. W. Neff, David Gwynne, J. H. Goosbeck, Jos. S. Benham, Robert Punshon, and Josiah Lawrence.

The committee having withdrawn to an adjoining room, a motion was submitted by Henry Starr, Esq., that the Constitution of the "Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society" be read. There was on the part of the meeting, a general response to the reasonableness of a proposition, intended to afford some information on which they had come together to condemn. It so happened, that the President was provided with a copy of the Constitution, printed by order of the Society, some weeks ago, and to which their "Declaration of Sentiment" had been prefixed,—being, with a few unimportant alterations, the eloquent and thrilling "Declaration" prepared by our brother, Weld, and adopted by the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, at its organization in April last. To our great joy, he began, not with the Constitution itself—which is only the detail of organization, without principles, or argument, or mode of action,—but with the "Declaration." Up to the time, when, as we think it was beginning to tell even on the hearts of opponents, silence was well preserved. But when it was read about half through; when its true character began to be ascertained; (for, we suppose, not one in twenty of the anti-abolitionists had read it before) and expectation of finding in it something worthy of condemnation was beginning to fail—many, especially those in the rear, seemed to have suddenly taken cold—if we might judge from the fit of coughing with which they were, all at once, seized. However, the President had read about two-thirds of the Declaration,—and read it well too, considering the circumstances—when a Mr. Foster (as we are informed) interrupted him, by submitting a motion, that the reading of the remainder—except the names—be omitted. The reason he urged in favor of the motion was—that as the meeting was an anti-abolition meeting, he could see no propriety in reading an abolition document. At this time there was some little disorder, arising from a confused expression of opposing views. Dr. Drake moved that the reading of the Declaration go on, with the exception of the names—as a disclosure of them might be the means of directing against respectable citizens, with whom they daily associate, a measure of obloquy, to which they ought not to be exposed. The doctor's motion was met by Col. Charles Hale of Fifth street, who showed it no quarter, in some very spirited remarks in opposition. The colonel wished to have the names read, that the owners of them might be held up to obloquy, and that the citizens might thus be admonished, not to associate with them—remarking that however Dr. Drake might think proper to make them his associates, he, (the colonel) did not.

The speaker having, in a few minutes, become quite animated—and finding his position on the floor too low for his aspirations, mounted a table at hand, and spoke with great acceptance to a large portion of the audience—if we may judge from the repeated cheers by which he was encouraged. When he came to speak of amalgamation, a subject on which, in its most interesting details, he had evidently bestowed much and curious attention, he kindled almost into enthusiasm. He was happy in his graphic description of his going to the house of Mr. Birney, to warn him, though a stranger, of the public indignation with which he would soon be visited if he did not desist from publishing his paper, and from lecturing about slavery in this city. The manner in which he related the circumstances of his being found by Mr. B. on the steps of the door on opening it for his admission, with one of the "biggest and most blackest niggers" he had ever seen in the whole course of his life—and Mr. B.'s treatment of him and the "nigger," drew forth no small merriment and applause. [The Colonel omitted, doubtless for want of time, or memory, much that passed between him and Mr.

B.—Such as his reply, when reminded by Mr. B. of the sacredness of the obligation resting on every man to submit to the constitution and laws of the land,—and that any one who would deliberately break through them to trample on the rights of another, even the most humble, was an enemy to his country;—to all which the colonel replied, that the people on such occasions,—determined to have peace and quiet—disregarded constitutions and laws—that they took them into their own hands—and that he himself would lead in pulling down the house of his own brother should he be found acting, as was, on the subject of slavery.] The successful *tunge* made by the colonel on Dr. Drake's hide-bound notions of delicacy; his spirited sketch of the interview between himself and Mr. B. including the well timed episode of the "biggest and the most blackest," with various other anecdotes, showing how persevering had been his opposition, and triumphant his efforts against the inroads of the amalgamators of this city—all this, fired off, with the precision of one of the colonel's own platoons, quite blew the doctor's motion out of the water, and the names were ordered to be read.

Many—and we think, those, chiefly, who occupied the space between the bar and the bench, were still desirous to hear the residue of the Declaration read,—and the motion to omit reading it was lost by a large majority. So that, the whole—*Declaration, Constitution, Names and all* were read. [We cannot forbear interrupting the narrative of the meeting, to tell an anecdote that we are informed, occurred at this point of time. One of the gentlemen who signed the call for the meeting at the conclusion of the reading remarked to a friend—"if this be abolition I have nothing against it," and retired from the place.]

Here, Mr. Birney drew the attention of the President, by remarking, that, as his name had been associated with circumstances tending, in no small degree, to disparage him in the estimation of the meeting, and the community generally—he would, with permission, say a few words in explanation of the circumstances with which he had been connected by the last speaker. The request was met by some difference of sentiment on the part of the audience;—however, by far the greater part it is believed, were in favor of Mr. B.'s being heard. Mr. B. was about to proceed, when the return of the committee, ready to report, was announced. Two of the committee, Judge Wright and Mr. Lytle suggested the propriety of his deferring what he had to say, till the report was made and acted on; both of them manifesting entire willingness that he should be heard. This course was taken, as being agreeable to all parties, and Judge Wright read the report as follows:

WHEREAS, The union of the States, embracing a great variety of soil and climate, could have only been effected in the first instance, by patriotic sacrifice, mutual forbearance, and a decided spirit of compromise. Our fathers, spurning individual considerations, looked mainly to the great object of becoming one nation, influenced by our common interest, regarding each other as fellow-citizens of the same great country. Among the sacrifices made, there were many of feeling, as well as of interest. The south was found in possession of a kind of property which did not exist to any extent in the middle and eastern States; after a full and thorough discussion, the compact of union was consummated, leaving to the slave States, the full discretion of settling the momentous question in their own way, and in their own good time; the implied guarantee was thus promulgated, that slave property should be held sacred by the constitution, and be protected by the laws.

The cause pursued by the Abolition and Anti-Slavery Societies, of the free States, is calculated not only to render unstable the tenure of this kind of property, but threatens to spread desolation and murder throughout the peaceful borders of our sister States. The imprudence, the immorality, the wickedness of this course are already affecting our social relations, jeopardizing our internal commerce, and throwing obstacles in the way of those great contemplated schemes of improvement, by which the enlightened men of the different States, are struggling to draw closer the bonds of brotherly feeling, and social intercommunication. The case has become alarming; in this emergency, it behoves the temperate and prudent among us, who appreciate the value of our glorious union, to take some direct action on the subject; otherwise we may expect some evil spirit to arise, to overcloud our brilliant perspective, by dashing the cup of harmony to pieces. The urgency applies particularly to Cincinnati, inasmuch as a few misguided men have recently made it the theatre for disseminating doctrines and sentiments entirely at variance with the views and feelings of the great mass of our population; therefore,

Resolved, "That it is a breach of our highest political contract, and a violation of good faith and common honesty, to disturb the internal condition and domestic arrangements of the slaveholding States."

Resolved, That this meeting view with distrust and abhorrence the cause pursued by Abolition Societies, which, with professions of mercy and good feeling on their lips, are advocating measures which are pregnant with injury, to the political, commercial and friendly relations between the States.

Resolved, That while we cherish as freemen the liberty of the press, and of speech, as among the most sacred provisions of the constitution, we view them as controlled by the same rules which govern other rights, viz: to be used in such a manner as not to injure the acknowledged rights of others.

Resolved, That the discussions of Anti-Slavery Societies, and the circulation of papers and pamphlets, tending to excite, in any manner, the negroes of the slaveholding States, is a profligate abuse of this boasted right, as immoral, and cruel in reference to the southern States, as it is impolitic and ruinous as regards ourselves.

Resolved, That fully impressed as we are with the insignificance, as regards numbers, of the abolitionists of the west, and aware of the excited and provoked feelings of the great mass of our fellow-citizens opposed to their views, we consider it our duty to warn these deluded men, of the odium they are creating, and of the danger they are incurring in persevering in their weak and vain struggles for an object impracticable and unattainable.

Resolved, That the course pursued by the Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the country, is daily weakening the ties by which the States are united, and must if persisted in, terminate in a dissolution of the union; we are, therefore, constrained to consider the advocates of such institutions, as enemies to the happiness of the people and to the peace and prosperity of the union.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting the course of the advocates of Abolition is directly calculated to defeat their object; to impose upon the slave, and perpetuate additional burdens; and to restrain and interrupt the benevolent exertions of individuals in the slave States to ameliorate their condition.

Resolved, That we coincide fully in the enlightened views taken by the governor of New York in his late message, on this subject, and believe with him, that if in defiance of the well known established popular sentiment, to sustain its purity the integrity of the federal compact, these "misguided men" continue to pursue a course at war with the same, that we will join in recommending the prompt and efficient legislation of this State, in con-

junction with the other members of the confederacy, to arrest their designs, and thereby sustain the original compact, which made us a *united people*.

Resolved, That the nature and tendency of Abolition Societies and the conduct of certain persons connected with them, are at variance with the federal compact, and the mutual obligation of the States united thereby; and if not treasonable, are highly revolutionary in their tendencies, and ought to be disengaged by all good and patriotic citizens; and that we will not suffer the inflammatory publications of such institutions to be introduced into our houses, counting-rooms, or workshops.

Resolved, That the institution of slavery, as it exists in this country, under the sanction of our constitution, and happy form of government, is known to all who have sought an asylum in our country; and to whom the benefits of citizenship are extended. We, therefore, consider it indecorous for such persons to engage in projects which are calculated to subvert the institutions of our country.

Resolved, That this meeting will exert every lawful effort to suppress the publication of any abolition paper in this city or neighborhood. And that they advise, in a spirit of frankness, such as may be concerned in a project of this description, to abandon the attempt.

Resolved, That while we approve and advocate upon all subjects, the toleration of individual freedom of speech and opinion, yet we feel constrained to depurate the formation of such Societies as lead manifestly to an infringement if not a destruction of the *federal compact*. And that while every good citizen is obligated to resist confederacies of this description, they do most solemnly condemn the Abolition Association in all its branches, as necessarily conducive to such results.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, it is not expedient for Congress to adopt a course of legislation for the District of Columbia by which the citizens thereof will be deprived of the right of property in their slaves, which right we believe is secured to them by the constitution and laws of the land.

During the absence of the committee, the constitution of the Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society was read by the president of the meeting, at the request of Henry Starr, Esq.

The meeting was ably and eloquently addressed by Judge Wright, Hon. R. T. Lytle, Col. Pendleton, and others, expressing firmly and decidedly their disapprobation of the professed doctrines and the whole course pursued by the abolitionists. The speakers were frequently interrupted by the cheering responses of the whole meeting.

Mr. Birney requested, and was suffered to be heard in defense of the abolitionists.

[Mr. B. did not request to be heard in defense of the abolitionists. Leave was spontaneously granted to him twice, as he thought—but it was, in fact, recalled by the tumult of those who had acceded it.]

On motion of Colonel Pendleton, it was

Resolved, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting, signed by the officers, together with the preamble and resolutions, be forwarded to the senators and representatives in Congress from Ohio—to the members of the senate and house of representatives of the legislature of Ohio from this city and county, and to his excellency, the governor of the State, with a request that he will lay the same before the General Assembly.

On motion of Judge Wright,

Resolved, That the publishers of the several papers, in this city, be respectfully requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

SAMUEL W. DAVIES, *President.*

JACOB BURNET,
MORGAN NEVILLE,
WILLIAM BURKE,
O. M. SPENCER, } *Vice Presidents.*

ROBT. BUCHANAN, } *Secretaries.*
ARCHD. IRWIN,
ALLISON OWEN,

The report being read, Judge Wright, in a deliberate, and to us, pleasing manner, supported by remarks, filling up some six or eight minutes of time, the principles embodied in the preamble and resolutions. The substance of what he said was, in our judgment, as hostile to the constitutional liberty, and to the acknowledged rights of his fellow-citizens as we expect to prove the report to be; and the *street and coffee-house not ours* which he uttered against abolitionists, showed conclusively, to us, that their cause had not received as much of the labor of his excellent mind, as he would, properly, deem it his duty to bestow on that of a private client who had one hundred dollars in jeopardy.

Mr. Lytle now rose to submit a few remarks on the report, and to redeem the pledge he had given, to move that Mr. Birney be heard, generally, as it was understood, as the advocate of abolition. This he did in very handsome and just terms—for which he has our thanks, albeit, his remarks, made in a subsequent speech, in reference to Mr. B., particularly, and to those with whom Mr. B. acted generally, were in bad keeping with them. The first speech compared with the last, was as the salutary letting off of steam, to the desolating explosion of the boiler.

Mr. Birney, construing the permission granted him, under Mr. Lytle's motion, to authorize an exposition of Anti-Slavery views generally (and believing, from the ignorance of them, manifested by the speakers and in the report, that nothing else was more wanting,) as well as of the part he was acting in relation to the *Philanthropist*, and to discussions of the subject of slavery—left the topics introduced by Col. Hale, after simply stating that the colored man, found by him at the door with the Colonel, had, on being invited to enter the house, quietly seated himself in a remote part of the room, and had remained silent, notwithstanding some very offensive and cruel allusions to him because of his color, by the Colonel—and that when the latter withdrew, Mr. B., having no work for the colored man, which he came to apply for, he, also, withdrew.

Mr. B. proceeded to state, why he, particularly, rather than persons under different circumstances, ought to publish a paper given up to the subject now occupying the public mind. He was a native of a slave State; had been a slave-holder, till eighteen or twenty months ago; had, from the circumstance of his having resided many years in the south [Alabama], seen slavery in all its phases—had, very narrowly, watched its effects, and enjoyed advantages, not possessed by residents of free States, for understanding the whole subject. He adverted to that moderation of temper which he had, always, heretofore, and which, he trusted, he ever should maintain, not only in the discussion of slavery; but of every other subject which he might find it his duty to investigate and discuss. As a reason of no small weight, why he should treat the south, with all proper fairness and tenderness—he had, residing there, almost the whole of a large family connection who were slave-holders,—and whose welfare and safety were matters to him, of, by no means, unimportant concern. As Mr. B. advanced in his subject, advertising to the disproportionate increase of the slaves above that of the whites in the south—showing that, from this process alone, there must finally—and that before very long—be a ruinous explosion there; that to prevent this was a great

object of the abolitionists; that, as to himself, he thought, the best service he could render as a Christian to his brethren, who were slave-holders, was, to *persuade them to discontinue*, what, must, if persisted in, prove their ultimate destruction;—the dearest service he could perform to his country was to contribute his labors,—humble as they might be—to rescue her from quick-coming desolation (yet in mercy suspended) because of her oppression;—whilst, as we say, Mr. B. was treating the subject in this way,—in a temper, too, to which even the most chivalrous spirits of the south would scarcely have taken exception—the signs of dissatisfaction in the assembly were evidently on the increase. They seemed to have forgotten, that they themselves had, by their own act, placed Mr. B. in the situation he now occupied—and he was, several times, so interrupted by the clamors of the unruly part of the audience, that he deemed it proper to suspend his remarks, till they should cease.

"A monstrous mass of foul corrupted matter
As all the d***ls is had spud to make the batter."

After the speaker had ended, and had resumed his seat, amidst a thunderust of applause, Judge Wright, apprehending, as he doubtless did, that if any mobocratic elements were in the assembly, they had been put into brisk commotion, by the speech of Mr. L., rose and made some very sensible remarks,—and well adapted to preserve the peace of the assembly. He made prominent this sentiment, that whilst the meeting had shown a commendable care for the rights of our southern friends, it ought to be remembered that the rights of our immediate neighbors were not less worthy to be preserved and respected." We wish this was acted on, as well as spoken.

The President made a few remarks, in explanation of a conversation he had formerly had with Mr. Birney,—in relation to the printing and circulation of the Declaration and Constitution which had been read this evening;—Mr. B. added at his request a few more, in further explanation;—the President then exhorted those assembled to good order and decorum in dispersing, and the meeting, after passing the preamble and resolutions, with but one dissenting voice as to two of them, adjourned *sine die*.

Such is the history—playfully given, and in good humor withal, yet correct as to facts so far as we can recollect—of the anti-slavery meeting in Cincinnati. There were some circumstances that looked oddly when laid side by side. First, there was the mayor, the chief officer of the city; second, an ex-judge and late senator in Congress; third, a gentleman, without title or office, but of unexceptionable standing; fourth, a gentleman, who made up for all deficiency of title in the last, by having condensed within himself titles derived from the sacred ministry, as well as from the *judiciary* and the *executive* departments of our government. To these were added THREE secretaries and a committee of FIFTEEN. Against the respectability of the whole staff o' men, we believe, can say a word. Cincinnati, it is believed, could not have furnished a more respectable corps of gentlemen of property and standing, to lead the way in any object of a public nature. Yet who is not struck with the incongruity of all this parade, with the statement, that these against whom they were marshalled, "are insignificant as regards numbers" and that "the great mass of our fellow-citizens" are not only "opposed to their views" but entertain towards them "excited and provoked feelings."

It is the respectability of the conductors of this meeting that afflicts us with mournful solicitude for the cause of liberty and our country. When, before, could such an assemblage have been held, substantially to encourage the south in maintaining and perpetuating her ruinous system of slavery? When, before, could this have been done, accompanied, too, with a voluntary pledge to the south, that every lawful effort would be exerted to suppress any paper that dares to discuss the merits of slavery or warn the people of the ruin it is bringing on the country? When, before, could such a meeting have ventured to pledge itself to exert every lawful effort to suppress newspapers not only in their own city, but to exercise its power in suppressing them in the neighborhood? When, before, could such a set of resolutions—branding the advocates of freedom and constitutional rights with acting to revolutionise the government and dissolve the union—threatening those who are peaceably endeavoring to inform their fellow-citizens of the peril into which their dearest rights are brought, with a course of legislation that shall be sufficient to arrest them? Never, before, we honestly believe—therefore, never before was there such need that an enlightened people, yet free, should pass, on such proceedings, a peaceful yet decided judgment of condemnation.

We propose, hereafter, subjecting to the test of close examination, the dangerous principles embodied in the above resolutions; entertaining no doubt that when stripped of their drapery, they will present a skeleton at which, even many who voted for them will turn away in disgust.

ABOLITION AND REVIVALS.—The article below has suggested to us, this question—*Is the anti-slavery discussion opposed to revivals of religion?* We should undoubtedly answer in the negative. In desiring to renovate the principles of a government founded on the equality of men as to rights, a truth, we believe, revealed in the word of God—and to conduct to the happiest termination of which it is susceptible, a system acknowledged to be corrupting to all parties concerned, surely there can be nothing which opposes the dominion of truth in the heart. A will that is resolved into God's will cannot desire otherwise.

No; it is not the anti-slavery discussion that stops revivals. If stopped at all, it is by that temper in the church which converts discussion into agitation. The doctrines of Justice, and Freedom, and Mercy, would never agitate, unless met by the spirit of Oppression; by the love of ease, by indolence, and a desire for the honor that cometh from men instead of that which cometh from God. As long as the righteousness of freedom is opposed by the unrighteousness of slavery, there will, there must be, agitation. The contest, in this case

the spirit of oppression, because of their voluntary enlistment in the ranks of those who oppress, and because of their earnestness in finding excuses for those who refuse to obey the commands of God, in breaking the yoke from their brother's neck? No one would say, after the light which has of late been thrown on the sin of intemperance, that a church, made up, chiefly, of rum and whisky drinkers, could have a true revival of religion. To look for it, would seem almost like an insult to the purity of God's truth. How much stronger would be the grounds for expecting a revival in a church, whose members, although they might not actually drink to intemperance themselves, yet employed their minds in framing excuses for their drinking brethren; in proving that the usual measure of their drinking was reconcilable with God's will, and that when it was exceeded in a few instances, their well regulated system of moderate drinking was not to be impugned thereby? Would they give any additional grounds to encourage their expectation, if they were to push their auxiliary efforts, to the abuse of those who were endeavoring to persuade the drinking professor of religion the practice of entire abstinence as a duty to God and their neighbor, calling them *fanatics, radicals, incendiaries, fire-brands?* We suppose not.

The church that wants a revival now, must settle the question of slavery on the side of righteousness, *fully and forever*. It must become an anti-slavery church, regardless of the form in which oppression may show itself, of the power of the oppressor, or of the *taunts* of his allies. Then, if the Lord be true, shall its light break forth as the morning and its health spring forth speedily.

MR. EDITOR.—A few weeks since I saw a communication in our official paper, published in New York, referring to the decrease of members in the M. E. Church, within the bounds of the New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore conferences, and mentioning the discussion of the slavery question as one of the causes of this decrease.

But this reason in the premises, Mr. Editor, I consider inconclusive for two or three reasons.

1. Because there has been no very extensive excitement, among the preachers and members of our church, upon the subject of slavery within the bounds of the conferences above named. If this communication be understood as referring to what some of the preachers in the New York and Baltimore conferences have done to oppose the abolitionists, then I acknowledge that as "J. K." (the Rev. John Kennedy I suppose) has estimated, there has been some "excitement" within these conferences upon this subject.

In the New England and New Hampshire conferences, where a majority of the preachers are abolitionists, and where the subject of slavery has been discussed more than in any other part of the country, there has been an increase of members the past year! How is this? "J. K." says that the agitation of this subject retards revivals and has prevented the increase of members in our church, whereas, we have had the greatest revivals, and the greatest increase of members in those conferences where a majority of the preachers have borne their testimony against the sin of slavery; while there has been a positive decension of revivals, and a decrease of membership in two or three of those conferences where the preachers have either stood aloof from this subject or opposed those who engaged in its discussion!

3. There was no "decrease" of revivals nor members in any part of our church, in 1780, and afterwards, when Dr. Coke and the Methodist preachers who organised the M. E. Church, engaged in the discussion of the slavery question. They opposed slavery then by the very same means that are used by the Methodist preachers of the present day, who are denominational abolitionists, and they were blessed and prospered of God in doing so. It is true, at that time there was no paper published by our church in which their real views could be misrepresented, and their principles and measures opposed, and this may be assigned as one reason why there was not in some places, a decrease at that time in the membership.

That the other causes mentioned by "J. K." has served to lessen our numbers in the conferences above named, there can be no doubt, and this same cause (emigration) has served to lessen our membership, it must be remembered, in New England as well as in other places.

It may be proper to add in conclusion, Mr. Editor, that our brethren in New England, as I learn from Zion's Herald, are still favored with a number of very interesting and powerful revivals of religion. May they be continued and increased more and more in each of our conferences, is the prayer of your friend,

PHILADELPHIA.

Zion's Watchman.

THE SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM.—The following article, published in the very citadel of the slaveholding aristocracy of Kentucky, ought to cause a blush on the faces of such of our fellow-citizens of the free States, who have shown themselves ready, at the bidding of the south, to surrender the strongest outposts of liberty. How can the gentlemen, who lately resolved at Cincinnati, to suppress (of course by lawful means)—we are not yet fallen so low, that any other would be countenanced) a portion of the press engaged in advocating the right of the people to *free discussion*, in maintaining unimpaired the *liberty of the press*; showing equal respect to the rights of every part of our country, whether it be northern or southern: how, we say, can they read this piece, without feeling that they have greatly humbled their city, have attempted to wound the struggling cause of liberty everywhere, and, it may be, infixed on their own memories a stain which will be the last visible spot as they are seen descending into oblivion?

From the Lexington Intelligencer.

It seems to us *inexpedient* for the south to insist on a legislative declaration, by the northern States, of their adoption of an opinion held by the south. It is inexpedient and it is inconsistent. For see—the south says one State has no right to *interfere*, even so far as to discuss questions foreign to herself, and touching only the internal and strictly domestic affairs of her sisters. Now if this position be true! by what rule does the south demand an expression by the northern legislatures, of an opinion that the northern people of *home* should not discuss freely any subject whatever? We take it that these demands of the south, violate the very principle which they require the north specifically to recognise. In making these demands, the south herself discusses a question of *internal northern policy*.

We are not in favor of the violent proceedings of abolitionists; but while they confine their operations to the free States, we cannot recognise the supposed southern right to intermingle with them. If they introduce dangerous documents into the south, let southern law operate upon the instruments of such introduction. If inflammatory pictures are introduced into the south, dangerous to the peace of the south, they must surely be introduced by human hands, and such hands are evidently proper objects for southern penal sanctions. Upon them, then, let those sanctions fall with their most rigorous pressure; but never let the south give up the principle of *free discussion* in a State, for upon the perversion of society with this principle, south or north, hangs the continuance of freedom at either point. If abolitionists come among the slaves with their writings or prints, punish them. If they send them by mail, prove, kindles the fire of the just revenger.—Quarle.

the free blacks in the south. Against this the north cannot, will not object, because it is a strictly domestic concern of the south; and for the thorough efficiency of the remedial and preventive course here indicated, the boasted southern spirit and conscious energy, should never directly or indirectly acknowledge themselves incompetent.

If the effect of free discussion at the north, will be such that a more vigilant, vigorous, and perhaps severe course towards southern slaves and southern free incendiaries, will be let it be. Southern energy and southern dignity, and southern sectional pride, should prevent complaint;—should forbid us to violate our own favorite principle by dictating their course to northern legislators. By pertinaciously persisting in complaints, menaces, and blustering, such as South Carolina, by her governor and legislature, has commenced, the cause of the south, in the premises, is not strengthened; but the discussion of the *interdicted* subject is increased, both at the south and the north. Quiet, yet energetic measures, on the part of the slaveholding States, have appeared to us, as the most proper, the most dignified, the most just, and likely to be the most effectual, for the attainment of any properly desirable end, in relation to this subject; and verbal violence and menace, and demands in manner dictatorial, however effectual and proper they may be, in the mouths of slaveholders addressed to their property, can never be expected to be regarded, when addressed by one free community proudly conscious of its strength and rights, to another no less so, in any other light than as unwarrantable, or with any more violent emotion than that of pity. It is, therefore, impolitic in us of the slaveholding States, to use them towards our northern brethren. Let them debate upon slavery or any other subject at home, as much as they please; a fig for what they think of slavery! Burn their pamphlets and pictures if you find them where they should not be; keep your slaves about their proper business, and legally whip those blacks or whites, who intermeddle with your property, according to your own properly enacted laws. If this course is not effectual, the case is a hopeless one, and there must be "something rotten in the State of Denmark."

RENEWED POST-OFFICE VIOLENCE.—The following is from a subscriber in Kentucky—a peaceful, law-abiding and respectable man:—

"Please send my paper some other way than to the ***** post-office. I have received your first number, but no more. —————, who keeps the post-office, has refused to let me have them. Send them to —————. I can get them there once a month propably."

DR. CHANNING,—we have been informed, has either published, or is about to publish another edition of his admirable work on Slavery, in which he has made several important alterations. They, doubtless, relate to the abolitionists; as there is no other material part of his work now recollected, which it seems to us, could well be altered.

EXCITEMENTS TO RAISE A MOB.—*Efforts to put down the Freedom of the Press and of Speech.*—Should he [the editor of the Philanthropist] and they, his coadjutors, be so mad as still to persist in their present course, they assume an awful responsibility, and the consequences must be upon their own ill-fated heads."—*Cin. Whig*, Jan. 25, '36.

ANOTHER.

"As it is, we trust, he [the editor of the Philanthropist] has learned sufficient of the sentiments of the people of Cincinnati, with respect to himself and his infatuated coadjutors, to cool his temerity and abandon the hope of securing for the cause of abolition even a *toleration* in this city."—*Cin. Rep.* Jan. 25, '36.

Now we wsh to ask every candid and ingenuous man, if any other construction can be put upon the above paragraphs than this: "If the resolutions of the meeting on the 25th, will not so intim date Mr. B. as to stop his press, and impel silence on him and all others who speak about *oppression* because our neighbors practice it, then they must bear the consequences of southern dictation, in the destruction of their property, the abuse of their persons, and the *forcible suppression* of their constitutional rights to print and speak and write on any subject which they may think will be profitable to their fellow-citizens?" If these prints intend anything else, let them explain.

HUMBLING, BUT CANDID ACKNOWLEDGMENT.—From the Cin. Rep. of last week.—"SOUTHERN feeling is too strong in this city, the interests of her MERCHANTS, her CAPITALISTS, and her TRADESMEN, are too deeply interwoven with the interests of the slave States; the commercial and social it's rouse between our citizens and the citizens of the south-west, are too intimate to admit of the uninterrupted operations of a society tending to separate the ties which connect the city to those States."

How far the several classes of our citizens above mentioned are willing to say "Amen" to the above officious proclamation of their shame, we know not. *Commerce* is desirable; the investment of capital is advantageous; the encouragement of manufactures is profitable; but desirable, advantageous, and profitable as they all may be, if they are to be bought only by a submissive surrender of the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, and personal security, the PEOPLE will yet speak in a voice of thunder, "they are too dear!"

THE CINCINNATI REPUBLICAN.—A reply to the very violent and injurious article against us in this print, was intended to be inserted in this week's paper. Other matter more urgent, perhaps, has filled up our columns, to the exclusion of it. We shall have an opportunity soon of replying; and we hope to do so, waiving all retort of the uncivil terms that have been applied to us, with the calmness and moderation which become those who contend for the great principles which lie at the foundation of human liberty and human happiness.

LOVE FOR THE SOUTH.—One of the Cincinnati papers has, within the last week published two essays, written to prove that "Congress has power to prevent the publication and circulation of the abolitionist periodicals in the slaveholding States;" yet this same paper is prodigal in its abuse of those who would offer any reasons against this sentiment. Truly, the slave-holder's workshops established among us, are busy, and bold, too, in their assaults on the press—the abiding foe of their favorite system!

Terror haunts no corners, seeks no by-ways; if thou scarest his reproach to be just; if thou confess thyself to be unjust, he deserves not to profess truth, that professes it fearfully, he deserves not to find the truth, that seeks it fraudulently.—Quarle.

Is thou angry with him that reproves thy sin, thou scarest his reproach to be just; if thou confess thyself to be unjust, he that is angry with the just revenger.—Quarle.

Northern Spirit.

GERRIT SMITH'S REPLY TO A VIRGINIAN.

PETERBORO', DECEMBER 28, 1835.

To the Editor of the *New England Spectator*:—
I just now see in your paper of 23d inst. portions of a letter from a gentleman in Virginia to myself. I received the letter some weeks ago, and promptly replied to it. Had it occurred to me, that the writer would probably send a copy of his letter to the press, my reply instead of being brief and hasty, would have been long and carefully written, and more suitable to be made public. Since, however, my Virginian correspondent has published his letter, it is very proper, that I should publish my reply, and I accordingly send you for publication an exact copy of it. The Richmond Telegraph, in which, it seems, the letter was first printed, will probably think it but fair to publish my reply.

Very respectfully yours,
GERRIT SMITH.

Peterboro', Nov. 26, 1835.

"I thank you, my dear sir, for your letter of 16th inst. received last evening—and none the less, because it finds fault with me. I had not read many lines of it, before I felt that I was reading the letter of a frank, open-hearted, sensible Christian gentleman—and such a gentleman I most cordially welcome into the list of my correspondents. I trust that this will not be our only interchange of letters—and let me assure you, that I endeavor to hold myself open to conviction on every subject, as I presume you do also.

I herewith send you a correct copy of my speech to which you refer. After you have read it all, you will not infer from my use of the words "sword" and "scabbard," that I am a blood-thirsty man—but you will see, that these words were employed in a figurative sense. The war I refer to is a war of mind about the right of free discussion. Let me say that I am one of the supporters of the American Peace Society, and subscribe with all my heart to its doctrines.

I refer you to my letter to Dr. A. L. Cox, under date of 21st inst. It is published in the New York Evangelist of the 21st inst. You will see in that letter some of my reasons for uniting myself with the Anti-Slavery Society. You will see also what I mean by "immediate emancipation"—and that it has nothing to do with "amalgamation," and "rights of free citizens," &c., &c., to which you refer.—

"Please send my paper some other way than to the ***** post-office. I have received your first number, but no more. —————, who keeps the post-office, has refused to let me have them. Send them to —————. I can get them there once a month propably."

DR. CHANNING,—we have been informed, has either published, or is about to publish another edition of his admirable work on Slavery, in which he has made several important alterations. They, doubtless, relate to the abolitionists; as there is no other material part of his work now recollected, which it seems to us, could well be altered.

EXCITEMENTS TO RAISE A MOB.—*Efforts to put down the Freedom of the Press and of Speech.*—Should he [the editor of the Philanthropist] and they, his coadjutors, be so mad as still to persist in their present course, they assume an awful responsibility, and the consequences must be upon their own ill-fated heads."—*Cin. Whig*, Jan. 25, '36.

ANOTHER.

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GOVERNOR WOLF.

We take the following from the Message of the Governor of Pennsylvania, delivered Dec. 3d.

The prosperity of our country throughout its whole extent is great beyond all former example; but it is to be lamented that whilst our hearts should be filled with gratitude and humble devotion for the bounties of Providence, to Him who bestows them, there should have been manifested in some portions of the Union a spirit of wantonness and insubordination, which have set aside the ordinary forms of law, and executed summary vengeance upon the devoted heads of whosoever might fall within its power, according to its own undefined, illicit mode of criminal justice.

Wherever this spirit was dominant, a self-constituted tribunal, predetermined that the victim should suffer the penalty, whether guilty or innocent, was the arbiter of his fate. Property, life, liberty, reputation, every thing that is dear to man upon earth, was made to submit to this relentless ordeal. Man became the unwilling executioners of their fellow-men. The most inhuman atrocities and wanton cold-blooded murders were committed in the open face of day, and sanctioned by communities who would feel themselves greatly scandalized by having it supposed that they were not models of refinement, intelligence, and respectability. Mobs were collected together under the pretence that some act of immorality or dishonesty had been committed, which it was their province to punish or to correct.

The domestic sanctuary was entered by violence, the obnoxious individual sought for, and if found, fell a victim to an infuriated mob; if not, his property became a sacrifice to a frenzied populace, and all this under the unjustifiable plea of necessity or the tardiness of the forms of trial in the courts of law.

It would be gratifying to feel a consciousness that we had nothing of this spirit to reproach ourselves with in our own State; but the truth will not, I am constrained to say, bear us out in claiming entire exemption from its destructive influences.

Such things must not be tolerated in a country professing to be governed by just and equal laws. If the laws are too weak to afford protection to the citizen in every emergency, it is time they should be made more efficient; the lives of our citizens must be secured against lawless violence, and it might not be unprofitable to enquire how far it would con-

due to the suppression of riots, if by legal enactment the obligation to make restitution of property destroyed by mobs, was imposed upon the community within whose limits its destruction was perpetrated.

ABOLITIONISM.

The doctrines of universal emancipation, no doubt had their origin in motives of the purest humanity and in the most benevolent designs, and would, if left to themselves, by their mild and benign influences, have greatly ameliorated the condition of both master and slave; indeed, they had already contributed greatly to that desirable end, and might eventually have produced the very object which is now professedly held out as the one desired. But the present crusade against slavery is the offspring of fanaticism of the most dangerous and alarming character: which if not speedily checked may kindle a fire which it may require the best blood of the country to quench, and engender feelings which may prove fatal to the integrity of the union itself. It must be left to the public opinion alone to check and to control the further progress of this misdirected enthusiasm. *Legislation cannot be brought to bear upon it without endangering other rights and other privileges in which every individual in this great confederacy is deeply and solemnly interested.* The freedom of speech and of the press, which after all is the safeguard to free discussion, and the best exponent of public opinion, must not be infringed upon or controlled by enactments intended to remedy some temporary mischief only. I would take occasion however to suggest for the consideration of the General Assembly, whether a calm, temperate and dignified, but at the same time firm and decided expression of the views and feelings of that body in reference to this highly dangerous and mischievous spirit, would not be calculated to give tone and expression to public sentiment in relation to that subject, and have a direct tendency to impose an immediate check and restraint upon its further progress.

Slavery.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST ANTI-SLAVERY.

1. "*Thompson is a foreigner.*" This is the most prominent and the most influential argument which is now urged. But the time has been when the cry of "foreign emissary" would have excited the burning indignation of this whole nation. Lafayette was a "foreign emissary." Howard who passed his life in "meddling" with the prisons of Europe was a "foreign emissary." Every missionary who goes from our land to "meddle" with the sins and the miseries of other lands is a "foreign emissary." We could welcome the "foreign emissary" Lafayette, when he came to aid us, the slaves of England, to obtain our freedom; but when one comes to plead with us the cause of humanity, the irresistibly convincing reply is, "you are a foreign emissary." Away with such contemptible nonsense. If we cannot fight us, they dare not separate from us. Listen to them, they must, and yield them must. God has made ice to melt when the temperature is above a certain point, and it might as well maintain its flinty hardness in a fiery furnace, as the people of the south theirs, after the people of the north are once kindled up to the natural temperature of our common humanity.—Morning Star.

of the ocean, a tribe of robbers, murderers, and cannibals, we, here in America, have something to do with them. It is not consistent with the welfare of the human race that there should be robbers, murderers, and cannibals, anywhere. Again, as Christians, which go to abolish such crimes, and are commanded by the Redeemer of the world to promulgate them. We have something to do, then, as long as there is upon earth a single man who has not been reached and won to righteousness by these heavenly principles. Have we, then, nothing to do with it? Are we called upon to give up fugitives from slavery on the bare claim of any southerner man before any magistrate whom he may choose, and have we nothing to do with it? Is slavery perpetuated in the District of Columbia by the votes of our own representatives, and we have nothing to do with it? Is it extended to new States year after year, and we have nothing to do with it? Is America made the nurse of slaves; is her soil stained with an immense traffic in the

Miscellaneous.

DR. CHANNING, ON SLAVERY.

INTRODUCTION.

The first question to be proposed by a rational being is, not what is profitable, but what is right. Duty must be primary, prominent, most conspicuous, among the objects of human thought and pursuit. If we cast it down from its supremacy, if we enquire first for our interests and then for our duties, we shall certainly err. We can never see the right clearly and fully, but by making it our first concern. No judgment can be just or wise, but that which is built on the conviction of the paramount worth and importance of duty. This is the fundamental truth, the supreme law of reason; and the mind, which does not start from this in its enquiries into human affairs, is doomed to great, perhaps fatal error.

The right is the supreme good, and includes all other goods. In seeking and adhering to it, we secure our true and only happiness. All prosperity, not founded on it, is built on sand. If human affairs are controlled, as we believe, by Almighty rectitude and impartial goodness, then to hope for happiness from wrong doing, is as insane as to seek health and prosperity by rebelling against the laws of nature, by sowing our seed on the ocean, or making poison our common food. There is but one unfailing good; and that is, fidelity to the everlasting law written on the heart, and re-written and re-published in God's word.

Whoever places this faith in the everlasting law of rectitude, must of course regard the question of slavery first and chiefly as a moral question. All other considerations will weigh little with him, compared with its moral character and moral influences. The following remarks, therefore, are designed to aid the reader in forming a just moral judgment of slavery. Great truths,inalienable rights, everlasting duties, these will form the chief subjects of this discussion. There are times when the assertion of great principles is the best service a man can render society. The present is a moment of bewildering excitement, when men's minds are stormed and darkened by strong passions and fierce conflicts; and also a moment of absorbing worldliness, when the moral law is made to bow to expediency, and its high and strict requirements are decried or dismissed as metaphysical abstractions, or impracticable theories. At such a season, to utter great principles without passion, and in the spirit of unfeigned and universal good-will, and to engrave them deeply and durably on men's minds, is to do more for the world, than to open mines of wealth, or to frame the most successful schemes of policy.

Of late our country has been convulsed by the question of slavery; and the people, in proportion as they have felt vehemently, have thought superficially, or hardly thought at all; and we see the results in a singular want of well-defined principles, in a strange vagueness and inconsistency of opinion, and in the proneness to excess which belongs to unsettled minds. The multitude have been called, now to contemplate the horrors of slavery, and now to shudder at the ruin and bloodshed which must follow emancipation. The word Massacre has resounded through the land, striking terror into strong as well as tender hearts, and awakening indignation against whatever may seem to threaten such a consummation. To lead us to discern and love this, we are brought into connexion with fellow-creatures, whose outward circumstances are repulsive. To recognise our own spiritual nature and God's image in these humble forms, to recognise as brethren those who want all outward distinctions, is the chief way in which we are to manifest the spirit of Him, who came to raise the fallen and to save the lost. We see, then, the moral importance of the question of slavery; according to our decision of it, we determine our comprehension of the Christian law. He who cannot see a brother, a child of God, a man possessing all the rights of humanity under a skin darker than his own, wants the vision of a Christian. He worships the outward. The Spirit is not yet revealed to him. To look unmoved on the degradation and wrongs of a fellow-creature, because burned by a fiercer sun, proves us strangers to justice and love, in those universal forms which characterise Christianity. The greatest of all distinctions, the only enduring one, is moral goodness, virtue, religion. Outward distinctions cannot add to the dignity of this. The wealth of words is "not sufficient for a burnt-offering" on its altar. A being capable of this is invested by God with solemn claims on his fellow-creatures. To exclude millions of such beings from our sympathy, because of outward disadvantages, proves, that, in whatever else we surpass them, we are not their superiors in Christian virtue.

The spirit of Christianity, I have said, is distinguished by universality. It is universal justice. It respects all the rights of all beings. It suffers no being, however obscure, to be wronged, without condemning the wrongdoer. Impartial, uncompromising, fearless, it screens no favorites, is dazzled by no power, spreads its shield over its weakest, summons the mightiest to its bar, and speaks to the conscience in tones, under which the mightiest have quailed. It is also universal love, comprehending those that are near and those that are far off, the high and the low, the rich and poor, descending to the fallen, and especially binding itself to those in whom human nature is trampled under foot. Such is the spirit of Christianity; and nothing but the illumination of this spirit can prepare us to pass judgment on slavery.

These remarks are intended to show the spirit in which slavery ought to be approached, and the point of view from which it will be regarded in the present discussion. My plan may be briefly sketched.

1. I shall show that man cannot be justly held and used as property.

2. I shall show that man has sacred and infallible rights, of which slavery is the infraction.

3. I shall offer some explanations to prevent misapprehension of these principles.

4. I shall unfold the evils of slavery.

5. I shall consider the argument which the Scriptures are thought to furnish in favor of slavery.

6. I shall offer some remarks on the means of removing it.

7. I shall offer some remarks on abolitionism.

8. I shall conclude with a few reflections on the duties belonging to the times.

In the first two sections I propose to show that slavery is a great wrong, but I do not intend to pass sentence on the character of the slaveholder. These two subjects are distinct. Men are not always to be interpreted by their acts or institutions. The same acts in different circumstances, admit and even require very different constructions. I offer this remark, that the subject may be approached without prejudice or personal reference. The single object is to settle great principles. Their bearing on individuals will be a subject of distinct consideration.

INSURRECTION IN TEXAS.

By the accounts received from Texas, it appears that the colonists who have emigrated from the United States and settled in that section of the Mexican Republic have taken up arms against the legal authorities of the government. And as the causes and objects of the contest in which they are engaged appear to be very imperfectly understood among the people generally of this country, a correct though brief statement relative to the subject may not be unacceptable to those who are desirous of further acquaintance with it.

It is not by personal, direct action on the mind of the slave that we can do him good. Our concern is with the free. With the free we are to plead his cause. And this is peculiarly our duty, because we have bound ourselves to assist his efforts for his own emancipation. We suffer him to do nothing for himself. The more, then, should be done for him. Our physical power is pledged against him in case of revolt. Then our moral power should be exerted for his relief. His weakness, which we increase, gives him a claim to the only aid we can afford, to our moral sympathy, to the free and faithful exposition of his wrongs.

As men, as Christians, as citizens, we have duties to the slave, as well as to every other member of the community. On this point we have no liberty. The eternal law binds us to take the side of the injured; and this law is peculiarly obligatory, when we forbid him to lift an arm in his own defense.

Let it not be said we can do nothing for the slave. We can do much. We have a power mightier than armies, the power of truth, of principle, of virtue, of right, of love. We have a power, which is growing with every advance of civilization, before which the slave-trade has fallen, which is mitigating the sternest despots, which is spreading education through all ranks of society, which is bearing Christianity to the ends of the earth, which carries in itself the pledge of destruction to every institution which debases humanity. Who can measure the power of Christian philanthropy, of enlightened goodness, pouring itself forth in prayers and persuasions, from the press and pulpit, from the lips and hearts of devoted men, and more and more binding together the wise and good in the cause of their race? All other powers may fail. This must triumph. It is leagued with God's omnipotence. It is God himself acting in the hearts of his children. It has an ally in every conscience, in every human breast, in the wrong-doer himself. This spirit has but begun its work on earth. It is breathing itself more and more through literature, education, institutions, and opinion. Slavery cannot stand before it. Great moral principles, pure and generous sentiments, cannot be confined to this or that spot. They cannot be shut out by territorial lines, or local legislation. They are divine inspirations, and partake of the omnipresence of their Author. The deliberate, solemn conviction of good men through the world, that slavery is a grievous wrong to human nature, will make itself felt. To increase the moral power is every man's duty. To embody and express this great truth in every man's power; and thus every man can do something to break the chain of the slave.

There are not a few persons, who, from vulgar modes

of thinking, cannot be interested in this subject. Because the slave is a degraded being, they think slavery a low topic, and wonder how it can excite the attention and sympathy of those who can discuss, or feel for any thing else. Now the truth is, that slavery, regarded only in a philosophical light, is a theme worthy of the highest minds. It involves the gravest questions about human nature and society. It carries us into the problems which have exercised for ages the highest understandings. It calls us to enquire into the foundation, nature, and extent of human rights, into the distinction between a person and a thing, into the true relations of man and man, into the obligations of the community to each of its members, into the ground and laws of property, and above all into the true dignity and indestructible claims of a moral being.

I venture to say, there is no subject, now agitated by the community, which can compare in philosophical dignity with slavery; and yet to multitudes the question falls under the same contempt with the slave himself. To the falsely refined, who want intellectual force to grasp it, pronounce it unworthy of their notice.

But this subject has more than philosophical dignity. It has an important bearing on character. Our interest in it is one test by which our comprehension of the distinctive spirit of Christianity must be judged. Christianity is the manifestation and incarnation of universal love. The great teaching of Christianity is, that we must recognise and respect human nature in all its forms, in the poorest, most ignorant, most fallen. We must look beneath "the flesh," to "the spirit." The spiritual principle in man is what entitles him to our brotherly regard. To be just to this is the great injunction of our religion. To overlook this, on account of condition or color, is to violate the great Christian law. We have reason to think that it is one design of God, in appointing the vast diversities of human condition, to put to the test and to bring out most distinctly the principle of love. It is wisely ordered, that human nature is not set before us in a few forms of beauty, magnificence, and outward glory. To lead us to discern and love this, we are brought into connexion with fellow-creatures, whose outward circumstances are repulsive. To recognise our own spiritual nature and God's image in these humble forms, to recognise as brethren those who want all outward distinctions, is the chief way in which we are to manifest the spirit of Him, who came to raise the fallen and to save the lost. We see, then, the moral importance of the question of slavery; according to our decision of it, we determine our comprehension of the Christian law. He who cannot see a brother, a child of God, a man possessing all the rights of humanity under a skin darker than his own, wants the vision of a Christian. He worships the outward. The Spirit is not yet revealed to him. To look unmoved on the degradation and wrongs of a fellow-creature, because burned by a fiercer sun, proves us strangers to justice and love, in those universal forms which characterise Christianity. The greatest of all distinctions, the only enduring one, is moral goodness, virtue, religion. Outward distinctions cannot add to the dignity of this. The wealth of words is "not sufficient for a burnt-offering" on its altar. A being capable of this is invested by God with solemn claims on his fellow-creatures. To exclude millions of such beings from our sympathy, because of outward disadvantages, proves, that, in whatever else we surpass them, we are not their superiors in Christian virtue.

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It is well known that the Republic of Mexico was organized upon the popular federative principle which had previously been adopted by the Anglo-Americans of the north. The Mexican people were not, generally, as well acquainted with the science of free government as were the British colonists at the period when they asserted their independence. And though the march of intelligence and improvement has been rapid among them, the former have experienced more difficulty in administering this peculiar kind of government, than their northern neighbors. When the leading politicians of one or more "independent States," (though subordinate in fact,) have been disposed—either through

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